

TOP SECRET

TS-HR-AA 5913

EJAI75
 OO WTE22
 DE WTE #0893 0491841

O BYMMIRFE FEB 73
 FM THE SITUATION ROOM TOHAK 256
 TO RODMAN/LORD FOR DR KISSINGER
 ZEM
 T O P S E C R E T / SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH30629

TOHAK 256

State Dept. review completed

FEBRUARY 18, 1973

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS
APPLY

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. VORONTSOV CAME BY THIS MORNING TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM BREZHNEV TO THE PRESIDENT REGARDING ISMAIL'S RECENT VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN VIEW OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, I POINTED OUT TO VORONTSOV THAT MR. ISMAIL WAS COMING TO WASHINGTON NEXT FRIDAY FOR DISCUSSIONS. VORONTSOV SAID THAT THE BREZHNEV LETTER WOULD BE USEFUL IN THAT RESPECT AND, AS HE DEPARTED, HE ASKED IF YOUR EYES HAD BEEN DAMAGED AS A RESULT OF GAZING ON THE SUN FOR ALMOST TWO HOURS.

2. I BELIEVE NO ACTION IS REQUIRED ON THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO YOUR RETURN AND I HAVE SHOWN IT TO NO ONE. TEXT OF THE MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

IN CONTINUATION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE OF OPINION ON QUESTIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT WE WOULD LIKE NOW TO INFORM THE PRESIDENT OF A RECENT DISCUSSION ON THESE QUESTIONS WITH MR. ISMAIL, PRESIDENT SADAT'S ADVISOR.

IN RECEIVING MR. ISMAIL IN MOSCOW THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDED FROM THE FACT THAT, THOUGH IT WAS PREVIOUSLY AWARE OF EGYPT'S POSITION OF PRINCIPLE ON THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IT WAS USEFUL AND NECESSARY TO DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS ONCE AGAIN, HAVING PARTICULARLY IN MIND THE PROSPECTIVE ACTIVIZATION OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOG ON THESE QUESTIONS, WHICH IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND L.I. BREZHNEV.

AN EXCHANGE OF OPINION TOOK PLACE IN THE COURSE OF TALKS WITH MR. ISMAIL ON A GENERAL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ALSO ON POSSIBILITIES OF A SETTLEMENT OF THE DANGEROUS

TO WORLD PEACE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE ACHIEVED AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM AND IN THE LIGHT OF A CONTINUOUS LESSENING OF TENSION IN EUROPE.

MR. ISMAIL REAFFIRMED THE INVARIABILITY OF EGYPT'S POSITION ON THE NECESSITY TO SETTLE THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT ON A JUST BASIS WHICH SHOULD MEAN FULFILLMENT FIRST OF ALL OF TWO MAIN PRINCIPLES: A WITHDRAWAL OF THE ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES TO THE LINE OF JUNE 5, 1967, AND GUARANTEEING OF LAWFUL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE.

THE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AS EGYPTIANS STRESS IT, CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY SEVERAL STAGES BUT WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE PLAN (IN PACKAGE), SO THAT ALL ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT ARE COORDINATED AND BALANCED AMONG THEMSELVES, AND IN EACH OF THE STAGES THE SIDES IN CONFLICT SHOULD UNDERTAKE APPROPRIATE OBLIGATIONS.

END OF PAGE ONE

MR. ISMAIL HAS UNDERLINED THAT THE EGYPTIAN SIDE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT AS A BASIS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM CAN SOULD SERVE A PLAN OF SETTLEMENT WHICH, AS IS KNOWN, WAS BROUGHT BY US TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE AMERICAN SIDE AND WAS AT ONE TIME THE SUBJECT OF A DISCUSSION. AND IT WAS CLEARLY STATED BY MR. ISMAIL THAT THERE CAN BE NO SEPERATE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN SETTLEMENT INDEPENDENT FROM THE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT.

MR. ISMAIL SET FORTH WELL-GROUNDED, TO OUR MIND, OBJECTIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN SIDE AGAINST ANY VERSION OF A "PARTIAL" SETTLEMENT WHICH, BEING NOT AN INSEPARABLE, ORGANIC PART OF A SINGLE PLAN, COULD BE USED TO PERPETUATE THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES.

MR. ISMAIL HAS NOTED THAT EGYPT DOES NOT INTEND TO CONNECT THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS SINCE THE SOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT CAN ONLY BE MADE MORE DIFFICULT IF SEARCH FOR SUCH A SOLUTION IS CONNECTED, FOR EXAMPL, WITH THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

IN GENERAL AS A RESULT OF OUR TALKS WITH MR. ISMAIL WE ONCE AGAIN SATISFIED OURSELVES THAT THE LEADERS OF EGYPT ARE READY TO REACH A POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM ON A BASIS JUST TO ALL THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED, INCLUDING ISRAEL. THEY ARE READY TO TRY TO HAVE A NEW ROUND OF PRACTICAL STEPS IN THAT DIRECTION, THOUGH THEY CLAIM THAT THEY DO NOT SPECIFICALLY BELIEVE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE TOWARDS REALISM IN THE POSITIONS OF BOTH ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES.

AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE GOT AN IMPRESSION FROM OUR TALKS WITH MR. ISMAIL THAT, IF AT THIS TIME ALSO NO PROGRESS IS REACHED TOWARDS POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THIS VITAL TO THEM PROBLEM, THE ARABS CAN TURN TO THE USE OF OTHER POSSIBLE MEANS OF ITS SOLUTION, WHILE UNDERSTANDING THE COMPEXITY OF USING OTHER METHODS OF STRUGGLE THEY NEVERTHELESS STICE THESE IN CASE OF A NEXT FAILURE OF THEIR EFFORTS TO REACH A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT THEY SIMPLY WILL HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE.

WE ON OUR PART HAVE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF FINDING PRACTICAL WAYS FOR SOLUTION OF THIS PROLONGED AND UTTERLY DANGEROUS PROBLEM, HAVING IN MIND THAT ULTIMATELY THE ARAB PEOPLE THEMSELVES SHOULD DECIDE BOTH THEIR POSITION AND THEIR FURTHER METHOD OF ACTION IN SOLVING THIS PROBLEM.

ALL THIS, TO OUR MIND, CONFIRMS THE NECESSITY TO ACTIVATE THE SEARCH OF A WAY OUT FROM THE DEADLOCK WHICH DEVELOPED IN THE QUESTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. FOR THIS PURPOSE A JOINT CONTRIBUTION IS NEEDED ON THE PART OF ALL CONCERNED, AND NOT THE LEAST - ON THE PART OF OUT TWO COUNTRIES, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. WE ON OUR PART ARE READY FOR A MORE ACTIVE AND CONCRETE DISCUSSION WITH THE AMERICAN SIDE OF THE DEVELOPED SITUATION AND OF THE WAYS TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHAT BOUTH OUR COUNTRIES FAVOR.

WHILE INFORMING THE PRESIDENT OF OUR TALKS WITH MR. ISMAIL WE PROCCED FROM THE PREMISE THAT A MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON THIS QUESTION IS USEFUL FOR RENDERING NECESSARY ASSISTANCE IN FINDING AN ACCEPTIBLE FOR ALL INTERESTED PARTIES SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

WARM REGARDS

0950

TOP SECRET

NNNN